1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error.

[86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.* A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

* A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[1] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokuci*[2] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[1] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[2] *Nokuci* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof
231 talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not seperated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the "sac sac" (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced
534 a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First
[574] they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in
[481] diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed
[313] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the
[284] garden by the side of the road toward Wenysbunkura. A log was cut to the
[483] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps [648] were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the woman or bring the police to shut the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 Mar and Mea worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food 313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Duwus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water. (The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith. (If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Gardening-- planting of yams

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241 In preparation for the planting of yams, the land is cleared, the
[313] tops of large trees are cut off and the small trees are chopped down entirely. The small trees are allowed to lie on the ground for a couple of months, or until they are thoroughly dried. The refuse is then collected and burned. The ground is broken with a digging stick and the planter puts in the yams.

[311] Because of the hilly terrain, small terraces about a foot square are built. If the slope is very steep a small buttress is made with pegs stuck in the ground and cross sticks thrown behind them for a sort of retaining wall. If the slope is gentle, the terrace is made by simply leveling out the earth. The breaking of the ground is done with a pointed stick which is forced in the ground and then pried up hill while the ground is forced out and down. This prying is repeated until the terrace
244 is formed and the ground is softened. The seeds are planted butt end down and the head up at right angles to the level ground, and covered so that the stem is just below the surface.

After the yams have begun to come up, stringers are put up for the vines. Split liana stringers are suspended from the branches of the cut-off trees and pegged to the ground beside each yam hill. (See figure). Care is taken so that one stringer is not pegged above another depriving it of rain and sunlight. This is done for all yam plants, the vines twining around the stringers.